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but always of another group; he plants for you, he works for you. Every group has its *tumu*." The Hamea and the Raa were pointed out to me as being the *tumu* of the Miru. Victoria told me that the Miru was the *tumu* of the Tupa-hotu, Ureohei, and Marama, as they might intermarry; but later, in speaking of the subgroups or families of the Miru, she explained that the Tekena were the *tumu* of Ureokao (both subgroups of the Miru), because they intermarried. 571 572 582

A *tumu* may be defined, as Routledge surmised, as "a group of people into which a man may marry." However, I was told that there were also *tumu* with whom it was impossible to contract blood alliance "because they lived too near your house. When they lived as near as parents or friends, intermarriage was impossible even though they were *tumu*." From the definitions received, I deduce that *tumu* were people of one tribe who stood in a special relation to people of another. I cannot establish any relationship between the lineages in the different *mata*. It is not clear whether marriage was obligatory or only customary between the *tumu*. Marriage was forbidden to members of two *tumu* which were closely related by blood or perhaps by living together in the same family group. Routledge believed, as I do, that members of a group who settled in the territory of another were either related to the inhabitants by marriage or were captives. Such relationship would explain why my informants defined *tumu* as a group with which there existed marriage connections, or as a group obliged to work for another.

All of the present-day members of the Miru *mata* were pointed out to Routledge and me as being *ariki-paka* (noblemen) except the king of the island who was called the *ariki-mau* (principal *ariki*). It seems unlikely that every individual in such a large and powerful tribe should be considered an aristocrat even though belonging to the king's group. Probably the status of the ordinary members of the Miru was no different from that in other tribes, but some of the dignity and pride of the royal blood extended to the whole tribe, making it a little more aristocratic than the other tribes. Any member whose genealogy could be traced could claim direct relationship to the king's family. 619 554

In sum, the tribes (*mata*) of Easter Island seem to have been separate social groups made up of descendants of a common ancestor. They were thus, fictitiously perhaps, all related by tracing their origin to the king, Hotumatua. 619

There were no marriage restrictions among tribes, save those of the *tumu*. There is, however, a persistent tradition on the island that it is not proper for a man of another group to marry a Miru woman. Even now the natives believe that men who disregard that tradition are punished by physical disability. Tepano and Pakomio, who married Miru women, told me with great seriousness that by so doing they had exposed themselves to grave danger. 619 582 626

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After their wedding nights both suffered from cruel pains in the stomachs and would have died if they had not applied to Pakarati, the catechist, who saved their lives by prayer and other ritual performances. This belief is perhaps the survival of an ancient tapu against marriages between female members of the *ariki* group and common members of other *mata*. However, Routledge (194, p. 246) affirms that unions between *ariki-paka* and commoners were possible in the old days, for the daughter of the great king Nga-ara is said to have married a man of the Marama tribe. It is certain that the king had to marry in his own tribe, though not in his own lineage. Other men of the Miru could marry into any descent line.

Certain physical peculiarities were attributed to the members of the different tribes. Thus the Tupa-hotu were said to have tender feet which easily became sore in war expeditions. The Miru were bow-legged (*ngapau*).

Geographical Distribution of Tribes

Ruins of houses and ahus scattered over Easter Island correspond to the distribution of the ancient population. All villages were concentrated along the coast and the mountains and plains of the interior were sparsely inhabited. On the slope of Rano-aroi, near Vai-tea, the remains of two or three ahus may still be seen. Another ahu is a little north of Mount Oroi. On the west of the island were some villages and ahus built at the base of the slopes of Rano-aroi and at some distance from the coast. The settlements belonged to the Miru and the Hamea. Some Marama were scattered farther toward the interior. All the ancient settlements east of Vai-tea had been founded by families from groups in the east. As testified by the scarcity and the relative unimportance of the ruins, the groups living in the interior were isolated and composed of only a few members.

The ten *mata* or tribes were divided into two main divisions corresponding roughly to the western and eastern parts of the island. The western and northwestern tribes were called Tuu (usually spelled Ko Tuu) or *mata nui* (greater groups), and the eastern tribes were the people of Hotu-iti or *mata iti* (lesser groups). The reason for this dualism is not clear. There is no tradition or fact suggesting that the splitting of the *mata* into two main divisions had a social function and it is probable that it was a political institution. It was manifest mainly in a perpetual antagonism between the groups, the memory of which has been preserved in legends (p. 74). It is important to stress the fact that the tribes of the eastern division are more frequently mentioned under the collective name of Hotu-iti that the tribes of the west are under the name Tuu. Thus it may be inferred that the eastern tribes were more unified than the western ones. The above data implies that Hotu-iti was a primary tribe which divided into smaller groups. Tuu seems to be a simple geographic designation. Near Hanga-roa on the west coast there is

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rongorongo men were arranged in rows, with an alley-way down the center to the Ariki. Some of them had brought with them one tablet only; others as many as four. The old ones read in turn, or sometimes two together, from the places where they stood, but their tablets were not inspected. Te Haha and his comrades stood on the outskirts, and he and one other lad held *maru* in their hands. If a young man failed, he was called up and his errors pointed out; but if an old man did not read well, Nga-ara would beckon to Te Haha, who would go up to the man and take him out by the ear. Our informant repeated this part of the story identically months later, and added that the Ariki would say to the culprit, "Are you not ashamed to be taken out by a child?" the offender's hat was taken away, but the tablet was not inspected.

The entire morning was spent in hearing one half of the men read; there was an interval at midday for a meal, after which the remainder recited, the whole performance lasting till evening. Fights occasionally ensued from people scoffing at those who failed. Nga-ara would then call Te Haha's attention to it, and the boy would go up to the offenders with the *maru* in his hand and look at them, when they would stop and there would be no more noise. When the function was over, the Ariki stood on a platform borne by eight men and addressed the *rongorongo* men on their duties, and doing well, and gave them each a chicken. Another old man, Jotefa, gave a different account of the great assembly, by which the Ariki sat on his stoop and the old men stood before him and prayed; according to this version they either did not bring their tablets or their doing so was voluntary. In addition to the great day, there were minor assemblies at new moon, or the last quarter of the moon, when the *rongorongo* men came to Anakena. The Ariki walked up and down reading the tablets, while the old men stood in a body and looked on.

In conformance with his supervisory duties Nga-ara is said to have traveled round the island and to have stayed for some while with the experts in each district. Routledge (194, p. 246) heard of a man of the south coast who was considered to be "too big a man to have a school." He also went about visiting and inspecting schools.

Tradition states that when Nga-ara died his body was carried to the ahu on three tablets, followed by the *rongorongo* men. The tablets were buried with him.

The *tangata rongorongo* of Easter Island are better understood when compared with those of the Marquesas and of Mangareva. In the Marquesas the *tuhuna o'ono* was "master chanter, tribal bard, or ceremonial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore" (104, p. 145). He was also the teacher of sacred chants and director of chanting at family feasts. The word *o'ono* is the equivalent of *rongo* since in the Marquesan dialect the *r* is dropped and the nasal velar (*ng*) becomes *n*. In the Marquesas there were tests of the *tuhuna o'ono* by other members of the same profession and contests between *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes (104, p. 229). Any *tuhuna* who was judged in error by a majority of the masters gathered was immediately deprived of his title and could never lay claim to it again.

On Mangareva also there was a class of chanters or "intellectuals" who were termed *rongorongo* (*taura rongorongo*). They were not priests, properly speaking, but were responsible for the sacred chants for important